

## Message Text

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60

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 USIE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 CU-02

ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6886

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION USNATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USEC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L DUBLIN 1075

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, EEC, EI

SUBJECT: EC NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING, DUBLIN JUNE 16:

CSCE

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REF: GENEVA 4522

SUMMARY: AT THEIR MEETING IN DUBLIN JUNE 16 THE EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS SPENT MORE TIME DISCUSSING CSCE THAN ANY OTHER SUBJECT. MAIN ISSUES WERE: FOLLOW-UP, WHICH WAS ESPECIALLY TIME CONSUMING; IMPLEMENTATION OF CONFERENCE DECISIONS AT MEETINGS OF EXPERTS; THE MANNER OF SIGNING THE FINAL DOCUMENT; PARTICIPATION IN THE SIGNING OF THE EC AS A BODY; THE MALTESE PROPOSAL; TURKISH OPPOSITION TO PARTICIPATION OF NICOSIA IN PHASE III; AND THE PROBLEM OF WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DID NOT ARRIVE AT ANY STARTLING CONCLUSIONS BUT TOOK A NUMBER OF TECHNICAL DECISIONS DESCRIBED BELOW.

1. DISCUSSIONS ON CSCE DOMINATED MEETING OF EC NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS IN DUBLIN JUNE 16. OTHER IMPORTANT SUBJECTS WERE MIDDLE EAST AND UN, COVERED BY SEPTELS (NOTAL).

2. BY WAY OF BACKGROUND, OUR BRIEFER, IRISH POLITICAL DIRECTOR NOEL DORR, TOLD US HIS COLLEAGUES GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT PHASE III OF CSCE WOULD BE HELD AT THE END OF JULY. THE SOVIETS APPEARED TO PREFER A BEGINNING DATE OF JULY 22, WHILE THE FINNS ARE TALKING ABOUT JULY 27/28. THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN LUXEMBOURG JUNE 24 WILL HAVE TO SET SOME TIME ASIDE FOR A DECISION ON DATES. THE EC DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA WILL TRY TO GET SOME MORE MOVEMENT FROM THE SOVIETS BEFORE THIS FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS ARE STILL INCLINED TO LET PHASE III SLIP UNTIL SEPTEMBER UNLESS THE SOVIETS MAKE ADDITIONAL PROGRESS. MAIN AREAS REMAINING TO BE RESOLVED, IN EC VIEW, ARE FOLLOW-UP, CBM'S, POLITICAL LANGUAGE IN THE PREAMBLE, AND STRUCTURE OF FINAL DOCUMENT.

3. FOLLOW-UP: THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS SPENT MORE TIME ON THIS ISSUE THAN ANY OTHER. DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON A NEW DANISH TEXT WHICH MAY BE TABLED IN AN ATTEMPT TO MEET PROBLEMS OF THE NEUTRALS WITHOUT GIVING UP CENTRAL EC INTERESTS. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DECIDED TO RETAIN THE ORIGINAL DATE OF 1977 FOR THE FOLLOW-UP MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS -- ASSUMING THAT PHASE III IS COMPLETED NOT LATER THAN SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR. A DATE IN THE LATTER PART OF 1977 WILL BE SUGGESTED BY THE EC. AS A CONCESSION, HOWEVER, THE EC WILL PROPOSE AN EARLIER, PREPARATORY MEETING AT THE TECHNICAL LEVEL.

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THIS WOULD BE HELD A MAXIMUM OF TWO MONTHS EARLIER. THERE WOULD, THUS, BE APPROXIMATELY TWO FULL YEARS AFTER THE CSCE BEFORE ANY GENERAL REVIEW SESSION. THE EC BELIEVES THAT THE MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS SHOULD BE OF LIMITED DURATION. IT SHOULD HAVE A BUILT-IN "GUILLotine" SO THAT IT CANNOT DRAG ON FOREVER, BECOMING AN INSTITUTION.

4. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT SOME DECISIONS

ADOPTED BY THE CSCE WILL REQUIRE ACTION IN THE INTERVAL. SOME OF THE ACTION CAN PERHAPS BE ACCOMPLISHED IN BILATERAL CONTACTS, BUT MUCH WILL INVOLVE MULTILATERAL ISSUES. SOME OF THESE CAN BE HANDLED IN EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. OTHERS, HOWEVER, WILL REQUIRE MEETINGS OF EXPERTS OUTSIDE THE EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS. THE EC WILL PROPOSE THAT ANY STATE MAY CONVENE SUCH EXPERTS MEETINGS, BUT ONLY ON A BASIS OF CONSENSUS. (THIS IS A NEW IDEA) THE MEETINGS SHOULD ALSO BE CONDUCTED BY CONSENSUS.

5. FINAL DOCUMENT: THE NINE WILL PROPOSE ONE SIGNATURE BY EACH CSCE PARTICIPANT AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE ENTIRE FINAL DOCUMENT, RATHER THAN SIGNATURES TO SEVERAL INDIVIDUAL PORTIONS. THE NINE WILL ALSO EMPHASIZE THE NON-JURIDICAL NATURE OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT AND WILL TAKE CARE TO AVOID ATTRIBUTION OF ANY SPECIAL LEGAL STATUS.

6. PARTICIPATION OF EC IN THE SIGNING: THE ITALIAN EC PRESIDENT WILL SIGN THE FINAL DOCUMENT BOTH IN HIS NATIONAL CAPACITY AND AS PRESIDENT OF THE EC. THE NINE HOPE THE EASTERN COUNTRIES WILL ACCEPT THAT THIS DUAL STATUS SHOULD BE FORMAL AND EXPLICIT.

7. MALTESE PROPOSAL: THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DECIDED ON SOME VERY LOW-KEY LANGUAGE WHICH THEY WILL OFFER TO THE MALTESE FOR INCLUSION IN THE DOCUMENT ON THE MEDITERRANEAN. THE PROPOSED LANGUAGE WOULD REFER TO THE "MULTILATERAL PROCESS BEGUN BY THE CONFERENCE," AND THE MALTESE WOULD BE TOLD THAT THIS LANGUAGE GIVES THEM THE SAME POSSIBILITIES FOR A HEARING IN THE FUTURE AS THEY HAVE AT THE PRESENT. IN RETURN FOR THIS LANGUAGE, THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HOPE THE MALTESE WILL WITHDRAW THEIR PROPOSAL, WHICH OTHER DELEGATIONS UNIVERSALLY DISLIKE.

8. CYPRUS: THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS NOTED TURKISH OPPOSITION TO PARTICIPATION IN PHASE III BY THE NICOSIA GOVERNMENT THE EC DOES NOT KNOW HOW TO HANDLE THE PROBLEM. ON ONE HAND, THE TURKS HAVE A CONFIDENTIAL

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VALID POINT WHEN THEY SAY NICOSIA DOES NOT REPRESENT BOTH CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, MOST STATES STILL RECOGNIZE NICOSIA, AND EXCLUSION WOULD BE DIFFICULT, THE EC IS SIMPLY WAITING AND HOPING FOR A LUCKY BREAK.

9. PROBLEM OF WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION: THE EC DELEGATION IN GENEVA WILL BE ASKED TO PREPARE A DRAFT EVALUATION OF THE CSCE FOR USE BY WESTERN LEADERS.  
MOORE

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